WAR & PEACE

No hint of new peace move in Eisenhower's message; popular pressure is urged

THE LOOSENING of the hard-and fast alignments of the Cold War decade—1955's most notable international development—continued last week, one year after the "preventive war" crisis over Formosa. The East-West polarization was already being broken up by the adherence of more and more countries (the total is about 20) to the five principles of peaceful co-existence, first set down in the June, 1954, accord between China and India over Tibet.

The principles are mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, reciprocal non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual aid, peaceful co-existence. They closely resemble, as Paris' **Le Monde** pointed out (12/30), the five "fundamental rights of states" defined by international law. Their extension represents the movement towards independence of countries hitherto caught in the system of Western military alliances and/or the Western colonial systems. These countries hence emphasize their opposition to all military pacts and alliances.

TITO IN EGYPT: This approach to "extending the zone of peace" was further defined by Egypt's Nasser and Yugoslavia's Tito in a statement concluding Tito's recent Egyptian goodwill visit. Proposing a "new, constructive" approach to world problems they put first

"... accelerating the strengthening of the independence of countries that recently obtained sovereignty, as well as the process of giving sovereignty to still dependent nations, and the process of economic development of underdeveloped countries. In this structure, the policy of non-alignment . . . becomes more significant."

Against this background of the extension of the five principles, President Eisenhower's State of the Union message appeared unreal. Roughly half the message dealt with foreign policy; but it contained no reference to colonialism. Western military pacts, generally recognized outside the U.S. as designed to maintain the colonial status quo, were hailed as "major gains."

STRINGS ARE STILL THERE: Only concession to those who pleaded—as did Canada's Foreign Minister Lester Pearson (**Look**, 12/26)—for a "more positive" approach to "changing conditions" was a guarded suggestion that foreign economic aid be placed on a long term basis. But, as some UN diplomats pointed out, such aid still aimed to align African and Asian countries with the West; hence they could not contribute to their independence. They contrasted the U. S. S. R. policy which respects the principle of non-alignment and does not make Soviet aid conditional on the recipient country's refusing co-operation with the U. S.

The President remained silent in face of the growing demand for an end to nuclear tests and banning of nuclear weapons. This demand is led by the

(Continued on Page 5)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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France: Left to progress—or Right to chaos?
The decision is for the man in the middle—Mendes-France. See p. 7

Herblock in Washington Post
"Time for your investigation of the press, Senator."

IS THE "SPY QUEEN" DETHRONED?

Taylor, a victim of Bentley, finally cleared

"SPY QUEEN" Elizabeth Bentley has accused 80 persons of espionage and implicated countless others in a tortuous, contradictory spy story that has served as the basis for widespread assaults on civil liberties. Her testimony was used to help send Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to their death and to imprison Morton Sobell.

She has been kept from the witness stand, her contradictions hushed up, her credibility stoutly maintained by Cabinet members and Congressional probers in a bi-partisan conspiracy to sell her story to the public.

Last week a governmental agency exonerated one of her victims and for the first time cast official doubt on the Bentley fantasia.

TEN-YEAR PERSECUTION: The victim, William Henry Taylor, had been hounded for almost a decade as the result of the "Spy Queen's" story. He has been questioned 19 times, "sometimes in a manner reminiscent of the Inquisition." He has been called before four grand juries and three Congressional investigating committees.

He worked as an economist for the Treasury Dept. during the war and was tagged by Miss Bentley as a member of a "spy ring" there. Later he went to work for the Intl. Monetary Fund. Atty. Gen. Brownell, on Miss Bentley's word, branded him as part of the Soviet apparatus. Democratic Secy. of the Treasury John W. Snyder and his Republican successor George W. Humphrey pressed the Fund to fire him.

Taylor refused to retire quietly, opened a $500,000 libel suit against the Washington **Daily News**, and filed a 107-page brief tearing apart the whole Bentley story. He concluded:

"I have now reached the point of my skepticism that when Miss Bentley makes a positive assertion I hunt for a reversal of it elsewhere in her own testimony. Miss Bentley suffers from a great difficulty—she writes too much and seemingly believes that no one will ever compare one day's outpouring with the next. To read and study the record is almost like

(Continued on Page 5)

REPORT TO READERS ON THE WASHINGTON HEARINGS

The Eastland newspaper witch-hunt

"... It seems to us quite obvious that the Eastland investigation has been aimed with particular emphasis at "The New York Times." ... It seems to us to be a further obvious conclusion that "The Times" has been singled out for this attack precisely because of the vigor of its opposition to many of the things for which Mr. Eastland, his colleague Mr. Jenner and the subcommittee's counsel stand—that is, because we have condemned segregation in the Southern schools; because we have challenged the high-handed and abusive methods employed by various Congressional committees; because we have denounced McCarthyism and all its works; because we have attacked the narrow and bigoted restrictions of the McCarran immigration act; because we have criticized a 'security system' which conceals the accuser from his victim; because we have insisted that the true spirit of American democracy demands a scrupulous respect for the rights of even the lowliest individual and a high standard of fair play. . . ."

THUS IN A LEADING EDITORIAL—though not all of it as firm as the foregoing—the nation's most eminent newspaper hit out Jan. 5 for the first time at the press inquisition begun last summer by the Senate Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on internal security and turned full-glare on the N. Y. **Times** in public hearings in Washington Jan. 4-5-6.

The **Times** editorial appeared after the first day of hearings, at which seven witnesses were called, six of them present or former **Times** employes; the seventh was a brother of the **Times** education editor. The six included GUARDIAN executives James Aronson and John T. McManus, both former **Times** writers; James Glaser, a **Times** copydesk man who quit his job in 1934 to become editor of the **Daily Worker** for two years and is now employed on the N. Y. **Post**; and three present **Times** employes: a proofreader and an indexer, both of whom refused to cooperate with the Committee, and byline writer Clayton P. Knowles who was a voluntary, friendly witness.

Of 18 witnesses called in the current hearings, 14 were present or former **Times** employes. The 18 were culled from among 38 witnesses heard in closed sessions a month earlier in New York City; of the 38, 30 were present or former **Times** people.

In hearings last summer **Times** copy editor Melvin Barnet was named as a Communist in the 30's by Winston Burdett, former Brooklyn **Eagle** reporter and now a CBS broadcaster. Barnet invoked the Fifth Amendment when summoned and was fired in July. Later the **Times** got an injunction preventing the CIO Newspaper Guild from taking the firing to arbitration. As a preface to the current hearings the **Times** terminated the jobs of

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Renew now with a pledge for '56

The GUARDIAN needs your sub renewal with extra help if you can offer it. Your pledge NOW of $1 a month throughout 1956 automatically renews your sub and assures much needed help over the rough spots. Pitch in the easy way!

☐ Here's my Buck of the Month pledge to the Guardian Sustaining Fund for 1956. I understand this covers my renewal.

or:

☐ $........ enclosed to cover my renewal ($3 a year).

● Be sure to check your address-plate carefully for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want paper wrapped. Mail to:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Dull, duller, Dulles

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

DULL (according to Webster): "Slow of understanding; obtuse; stupid; lacking keenness in the senses or feelings; insensible; unfeeling; slow in motion or action; sluggish; listless or spiritless; tedious; uninteresting; foolish; stupid."

Superlative (var.): DULLES.

Robert Pollack

Corporation diplomacy

DAYTON, O.

Oftentimes what we think our greatest misfortune is in disguise our greatest opportunity. What a sad day it was when Cedric Belfrage was torn from our midst; and now we are reaping tenfold in his capacity as foreign corerspondent.

Our dumb diplomacy, internationally wide, is showing the marks of a hypocritical attitude. Dulles the corporation lawyer enters the sanctum of top conferences as if he were still trying a case with the same briefs in a courtroom.

C. W. LaRheir

Open secret?

DENVER, COLO.

In regard to the now-famous Petran series: It seems to me that the most important shortcoming of the series is that it incorrectly castigates what might be called simply the "tongue-in-cheek tactic" of not stating fully a much maligned objective: socialism.

Also, Miss Petran seems to make another related error. While noting that spending for peace is quite different from "defense" spending, she does not admit that war spending certainly was used successfully by the Right to postpone economic crisis, although she implies this all over the place. And of course, peace spending is much different, and, if extensive enough, certainly drives towards the time of qualitative change to socialism; but there are times when it may be unwise to stress this.

Arnold Berkens

On human rights

TOKYO, JAPAN

A few weeks ago, I had the opportunity to read of the Till murder case in your paper. We were shocked by the lynching of an innocent Negro boy, and from the bottom of our heart express our condolence to his mother.

Also we were surprised to hear the news that Mr. Gus Courts was shot by some white men who drove up to his store and fired through the window. We heard the shooting came after a long drive to run him out of business for his anti-segregation views.

In addition, lately we have been informed of a number of lynching cases. Murder cases of Timel Hudson, McArthur Malone, Johnny Earl Reece and other Negro boys and girls. It seems the present-day U.S.A. presents a most scandalous sight. There is no doubt the oppression of the Negro people is the Achilles heel of the American way of life.

As you know, Dec. 10 was the seventh anniversary of the International Human Rights Declaration's adoption by the UN General Assembly in Paris. We regret that recent trends in Japan, too, are toward an increase in the number of violations of basic human rights. Of course, we Japanese people will do the best to defend our human rights. Also, in the same spirit, we hope your people will produce successes in defending human rights, especially of the Negro people in your country.

Shingo Shibata

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Diamonds have a way of looking smaller as the years go by—and the one that looked enormous when you first wore it may not be quite so important-looking on your finger today. Let us make you a generous allowance on your not-quite-large-enough diamond—and pick one from our superb collection that lives up to your new standards.

—Lambert Brothers ad, N. Y. Times, Jan. 4.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: V. Levitt, Leonia, N. J. Enclose original clipping.

Sin of omission

NEW YORK, N. Y.

2 Million "Subversives"
On the F.B.I. List
and nary a white
Supremacist!

L. G.

Arab-Israel strife

PARIS, FRANCE

In reply to my earlier letter, Jack Katz says Arab arms must be used to destroy Israel. This is merely trying to whip up hysteria. The Israeli government is not the only, nor the most powerful, enemy of Egypt or Syria. Turkey, which held Syria and Egypt in bondage for centuries, is a main member of the aggressive Middle East Treaty Organization, a McMillan-Dulles baby. Nor has imperialist Britain exactly vanished from Egyptian horizons.

As for Katz's claim that the arms will be used on Egyptian masses, a little thought will show that big guns, tanks and planes are hardly weapons for internal suppression. Not even feudal Arab rulers are going to blow up their own buildings, fields and dams.

Katz ignores the rest of my letter. He says nothing of Sharett's "preventive war," of the Wall St.-connected United Jewish Appeal's dabbling in Israeli politics by economic pressure, nor of the most important point: the necessity for Israel-Arab friendship. The sad truth is that Ben Gurion and Sharett have no use for an Israeli-Arab friendship policy.

Now we have real trouble: the attack on Syria. Ben Gurion's excuse about the fishing boats is thin and shabby. If he was bothered with this, why did he not go to the UN before shooting? Regardless of what the Arabs do, the Israeli government is under the obligation to act correctly. This government which should be—and is not—a superior type government must exhaust every peaceful means for settling quarrels before shooting. Ben Gurion did not.

And the Arab people, what of them? I see that the Syrian people—not the government—is demanding revenge. The Syrian government talks of going to the UN. Do Ben Gurion and Sharett propose to "liberate" these people over their dead bodies? The Israeli people know better; let the Israeli government learn better.

Morris Cohen

In memory of Mike

DAVENPORT, IOWA

Enclosed $10 from a few friends of Mike Kennedy to serve as a memorial for him. Mike was 95 when he passed away in July of 1955. He served the progressive movement most of his life. He was the city assessor in Davenport in the '20's under a Socialist administration. He attended the founding convention of the Progressive Party in Philadelphia in 1948.

Please acknowledge this in the Mailbag so Mike's friends will know.

Raymond Teeple

Labor's Daily, Charleston, W. Va.

Planet of peace

CHICAGO, ILL.

I want to go to a different planet
where I may have the leisure
to behold the beauty of sun and sky
that constitutes my pleasure.

I want to leave this "wonderful planet"
where to cheat, rob, beat is an accepted mode of life.
Where there is no limit to possessing
and no end to strife.

I want to go to a different planet
to escape hypocrisy and lies
where I might find simple people
who do not need disguise.

I want to leave this "wonderful planet"
Where headlines of hold-up, murder,
rape are read with such zest,
I want to go to a peaceful planet,
my weary soul to rest.

Ida Good

A fighting optimist argues thus:

O'Killigian's Lilt

(from Sean O'Casey's "Purple Dust")

They may rail at this life,
From the hour I began it
I found it a life full of kindness and bliss;
And until they can show me
Some happier planet,
More social and bright, I'll content me with this.

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REPORT TO READERS

The press witch-hunt

(Continued from Page 1)

two others who announced they would use the Fifth Amendment, and did when called Jan. 6. They are Jack Shafer of the foreign desk and Nathan Aleskovsky of the Sunday Dept.

DESPITE THESE THREE FIRINGS, only two **Times** men cooperated with the committee, Knowles and Education Editor Benjamin Fine. Knowles, a **Times** reporter since 1937 and earlier a participant in one of the Newspaper Guild's bitterest strikes—against the Newhouse-owned Long Island **Press**—was a top Washington correspondent and well-known to many senators when the Eastland Committee began to make inquiries about him last summer. After discussion with his superiors, he went to the FBI and to the Eastland Committee, which heard him in closed session.

According to his public testimony, Knowles gave both the FBI and the Committee names of fellow-Guild members who were allegedly Communists with him during the L. I. **Press** strike. In his public testimony he helped blacklist many of the N. Y. Guild leaders of that period who had built the N. Y. Guild from a small editorial craft union to an industrial organization of more than 8,000 members. They had helped increase minimum wages for Knowles' kind of job from some $50 weekly to $135 or more on most metropolitan papers.

Fine testified to Communist Party membership while at Columbia University and named one associate there as a Communist with him.

THE COMMITTEE SOUGHT ALSO to claim James Glaser of the **Post** as a cooperative witness, after his testimony on the inner workings of the **Daily Worker** 20 years ago. Glaser, however, called his questioning "an act of unwarranted and inexcusable harassment." Despite nearly two decades of anti-Communism in Newspaper Guild affairs after quitting his **Worker** editorship and the Party, Glaser attacked Congressional investigations which make "national celebrities" out of renegade Communists, whom he called degenerate intellectuals, journalistic prostitutes and racketeers. Glaser was followed as **Daily Worker** editor by Louis Budenz, a paid informer since 1945. On the **Worker** staff before his time was one of the present investigators for the Eastland Committee, Benjamin Mandell. Glaser's remarks hit squarely at both. Mandell sat beside the senators at the sessions last week.

Seven witnesses still employed at the **Times** braved firing by refusing to answer many of the Committee's questions, two using no Amendments directly, one the First and the others the Fifth.

Three others, not connected with the **Times** now or in the past, refused to answer the committee's questions on varying grounds. Of these, two were fired within a few hours of their appearances by their papers, the N. Y. **Daily Mirror** and **News.**

THE **Daily News** man, William A. Price, defied the Committee under the First Amendment and on additional grounds that the questioning could serve no legislative purpose.

Price's dramatic defiance stole the headlines and brought him commendation by wire, telephone and letter from all over the country. Although all witnesses refusing to answer except under the Fifth Amendment were threatened with contempt citations, a Committee spokesman told a Hearst reporter after the hearings that this was being carefully weighed, in the belief that the contempt proceedings might founder because of technical deficiencies in Committee procedures.

The New York Civil Liberties Union appealed to the **News** to reinstate Price. It pointed out that "the high court has never determined whether it is constitutional for a congressional committee to investigate newspapermen or others in the field of expression in the absence of any showing of danger to the Government. . . ." The statement called Price "a man who should be commended for his willingness to make a personal sacrifice for the sake of principle."

The **Times** got considerably more press support than the GUARDIAN got during the fight for Cedric Belfrage's right to stay in this country after opposing McCarthy, but there was no nationwide press outburst against the Eastland Committee. The N. Y. **Post** last week noted this and wondered whether national organizations of editors and publishers would act. Lack of opposition—and in fact encouragement from the Hearst and Patterson-McCormick press (N. Y. **Daily News**-Chicago **Tribune**)—left the field wide open for the Committee to pursue the same tactics with similar results against any even faintly liberal newspaper in the country.

ALTHOUGH THE GUARDIAN EXECUTIVES were obviously called because of their former **Times** employment, most questions asked of them in public session indicated that the Committee considers the GUARDIAN a separate target. Special stress was laid on publication by the GUARDIAN in 1951 of names of POW's in Korea at a time these were being withheld by the Defense Dept. The GUARDIAN witnesses employed the Fifth Amendment on most questions, but the Committee was informed in this instance that our POW names were obtained from the **China Monthly Review**, which circulated freely in the U.S., and by special correspondence with its editor, John W. Powell, in Shanghai.

The net result of the Eastland press hearings to date has been the loss of jobs by five New York newspapermen for utilizing or intending to utilize their Constitutional rights.

In the Hearst and **Daily News** cases, the papers are at least consistent, their policies being in full support of the Eastland witch-hunts. In the case of the **Times**, however, the discharges are completely inconsistent with the paper's policy of defending use of the First and Fifth Amendments.

We urge readers to write to the **Times**, pointing this out and urging reinstatement of those already dismissed and retention of other **Times** people who refused to turn informer against their associates or their unions.

—THE GUARDIAN

5,000 AT RALLY

Dr. Howard forsees early end to reign of terror in South

By Eugene Gordon

"AS LONG as they can lynch 14-year-old boys in Mississippi and get away with it," Dr. Theodore Roosevelt Howard told an Emancipation Proclamation rally in Harlem Jan. 2, "you here in New York are not safe." Thunderous applause indicated that the 5,000 Negroes celebrating the 93d anniversary of the proclamation of their freedom agreed. The rally was held under the auspices of the Good-Will Achievement Assn. of Brooklyn in the famous 369th Regiment Armory.

Dr. Howard flew to New York from Baton Rouge, La. There he had addressed a similar meeting. He had come from California, where he had settled his wife and two small children after selling his home in all-Negro Mound Bayou, Miss. He is said to be No. 1 on a list marked for death by Mississippi white-supremacists.

He told his New York audience that despite this ever-present threat he was returning to Mound Bayou and to his hospital and clinic there. He was recently elected president of the Natl. (Negro) Medical Assn. He will live in the heavily guarded hospital.

"I AM WITH YOU": Dr. Howard said the FBI, "with its knowledge and with all its power can never work out who the killer is when a Negro in the South is the victim. He added:

> "The FBI can pick up pieces of a fallen airplane on the slopes of a Colorado mountain and find the man who caused the crash, but they can't find a white man who killed a Negro in the South."

Nevertheless, the Negro people of Mississippi are not despairing. "You can hear from plantation to plantation," he said, "'I am with you,' 'I am with you,' as some of us go about telling of what is happening down there." Referring to the Emancipation Proclamation, Dr. Howard said:

DR. T. R. HOWARD
Something there tells him

> "I am reminded that my grandfather, who was born in northern Mississippi, told me when I was a little boy on a plantation that just before the Civil War he had begun to 'feel something.' It was something that works like religion. He didn't explain what it was, but he said, 'There was something in there that made me feel the war would soon be over and I would soon be free.' Now I know what my old grandfather was talking about. There is something in Mississippi—throughout the world—that makes us know that this reign of terror and the undemocratic practices of the South will soon be over and we'll soon be free."

LOOK HOME FIRST: Shouting above the applause, he said that day would come more quickly if there were less talk about "man's inhumanity to man behind the Iron Curtain and something done about the inhumanity to man in Mississippi." Persecution, he said, was "making Negroes into one of the strongest organized fighting forces in the world." In the meantime he was "going back to my Mississippi and I'm going to stay there and I'm going to fight."

Mayor and Mrs. Wagner and Manhattan Borough President Jack were special guests on the platform, with 30 Baptist and Methodist ministers forming the committee which arranged the rally. The Rev. T. S. Harten of Brooklyn said in introducing Dr. Howard that under such leadership the Negroes of Mississippi would bring about "such a situation as the Jews did in Palestine."

"INSPIRATION AND PRIDE": Dr. Benjamin Segal, chairman of the N.Y. Chapter of the Physicians Forum, brought greetings to Dr. Howard as "a physician and a surgeon whose accomplishments in the field of medicine and in the wider field of struggle for human rights are a source of inspiration and a matter of professional pride for other physicians." Dr. Segal added:

> "When integration of Negro and white physicians is achieved, when integration of Negro and white patients is achieved, another barrier to adequate medical care for all people in our country will also have been removed."

The meeting ended with a shouted "Aye!" to a motion to send wires to President Eisenhower and to Mississippi Gov. Coleman calling for restoration of democratic rights to all the people of Mississippi.

Arkansas State Press
"Only through integration can their power be broken."

W. E. B. Du BOIS BEGINS HIS SERIES

The Negro in America today

By W. E. B. Du Bois

THERE IS CURIOUS and puzzling contradiction in current reports on the status of the Negro in the United States. It is said on the one hand that his progress is marvellous and his present status so encouraging that time and patience will soon see the Negro recognized in law and custom as an American, with all the rights enjoyed by other Americans.

In support of this view are cited the increasing number of Negro voters and office-holders; the recent decisions of the Supreme Court against segregation; and a general disposition in the nation to recognize the Negro as a citizen.

Contradicting this view is the fact that Negro suffrage is progressing but slowly and the Negro vote is still practically suppressed in many states; that in the South the Negro fills almost no public offices; and that murder, lawlessness, economic oppression and injustice in the courts are still the lot of millions of Negroes; that segregation in schools still remains in most of the South, and complete nullification of the Supreme Court decision is bitterly advocated.

NO NATIONAL SURVEY: The solution of this contradiction lies in the fact that it is true that the emergence of American Negroes from slavery in 1863 to partial freedom 90 years later is remarkable and hopeful. But it is equally true that American Negroes are not free compared with the working classes of the Western world or of the Soviet Union and China; that white color caste in some groups and places, especially in the North and West, has largely disappeared, yet in general it still prevails widely in the South; and it is true that as a group the Negro is poor, ignorant and sick, despite his struggles. He has difficulty in getting work and his wage is invariably substandard. In considerable portions of the United States, it is no exaggeration to say that a Negro still gets less consideration than a dog.

Just what the total situation is, reduced to actual facts and figures, nobody knows exactly and everybody guesses broadly. The United States as a nation has doggedly refused to conduct or encourage a scientific and complete study of the Negro population, because it feared to face the facts, whether favorable or discouraging. The national census deliberately hides the total picture. Twice Atlanta University has proposed and begun such a study: in 1896 to 1914, and again in 1941-44. In neither case could adequate support and cooperation be secured.

SECURITY IN ISOLATION: Many individual and group studies have been made, culminating in the Gunnar Myrdal report in 1944; nevertheless, today, no one can say with accuracy how far and how fast the Negro is escaping color caste. This is to the shame of American social science. Faced with an unusual opportunity for a laboratory test of human development; with a great group, so segregated by color and social conditions as to be easily made the object of observation and measurement, the opportunity has been deliberately and continuously neglected.

Negroes themselves do not know their condition. They live in widely differing localities and social environments. Wherever they live and under whatever circumstances, they make desperate effort, by protective isolation and careful compliance with public opinion, to achieve security and comfort.

A Negro in Atlanta sends his children to separate schools, attends a separate church, lives largely in sections of the city separate from whites. He pursues limited and largely separate occupations, and is paid lower wages for the same kind of work than whites get. He buys at stores, but is careful to frequent those stores where he knows his patronage is wanted, and where he will be fairly treated. Even in these he will not attempt to eat lunch or try on shoes or hats. He does not frequent parks or theaters except in very special circumstances. In fact, he lives in a world largely Negro; but there he is unmolested and may have a comfortable and successful life. If asked, he declares that he meets little or no race friction, which is true.

NEGROES IN THE NORTH: The city group of Negroes is recruited increasingly by influx from the rural districts. This migration is so large and continuous that while 77% of the Negro population was rural in 1900, in 1950 only 38% were in the country districts. This brings new city problems of crime and delinquency. In the rural communities and the small towns in the lower South, six million Negroes are still near slavery in many districts. They are running away to cities at the rate of tens of thousands a year. Discrimination in housing, North and South, by law and covenant, has been widespread and still prevails despite court decisions.

In the North, Negroes are mainly in the large cities. There the limitations are fewer, but they exist. In New York their chances to earn a living have increased since World War II but still are limited; there are certain jobs for which they do not apply; in the jobs they hold they can seldom expect high pay or promotion. The mass of ordinary workers keep largely to themselves; they do not in any large numbers go to downtown theaters, restaurants or places of amusement; they seldom go to a white church; they join few public organizations. They live largely in a colored world.

SOCIAL BARRIERS HOLD: The well-to-do Negroes move more freely, but not widely; they can enter the more expensive hotels; they can be served at most restaurants but they are not always welcome and realize it; they are invariably refused at summer resorts, at recreation centers and usually at automobile camps; and are not too welcome at many public assemblies. Not a single Negro in New York City has ever become a member of a recognized social club, despite the fact that Negroes have often gained high political position and many have wealth and culture.

They have recently gained high political office—a federal judge; three colonial governors; Congressmen and ministers to foreign lands; state senators; City Councilmen, city judges, Borough President in New York City, etc. Still, in most cases, they are careful not to appear at social functions where their presence might be unwelcome. There have been several instructors in the large universities and a few professors, but not many.

Negroes have advanced in art, especially music; less in literature; considerably in science and the professions, although in the latter case they are largely confined to practice among Negroes.

NEXT WEEK: **Economic classes among Negroes.**

THE FACTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY—III

The fight for an economic bill of rights

By Tabitha Petran
(Last of three articles)

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT's "Economic Bill of Rights" (see below), enunciated 12 years ago this month, is still the unachieved expectation of the American people. It is a program around which the American progressive movement can and should mobilize activity in 1956.

How best can a program of organized activity for these objectives be organized?

Is it true that such a program can be launched only within the framework of "delaying depression?"[1]

If we are to examine this claim, we must know what is meant by "delaying depression." It can only mean that we will postpone for a time the onset of a depression. But if this is so, obviously we must know when the depression would have taken place without our action. Do we know, or can we know, that—barring certain action—the depression will start next month, next spring, next fall? Could the Coolidge-Hoover administration have delayed the 1929 crash? If so, when? And how? The 1929 crash was worldwide: was it caused by events in the U. S. or in Europe? Would it have been necessary to delay it simultaneously in the U. S., England, France, Germany, etc.?

FDR's Program

This is the Economic Bill of Rights offered by President Roosevelt in his annual message to Congress on Jan. 11, 1944:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or farms or mines of the nation.

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation.

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living.

The right of every business man, large or small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home and abroad.

The right of every family to a decent home.

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health.

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of age, sickness, accident and unemployment.

The right to a good education.

ESSENCE OF CAPITALISM: These are not idle questions. They serve to underline the fact that while wars may be man-made (in the sense that people are needed to fight them and manufacture the tools of war) and therefore can be stopped by popular protest, depressions are a phenomenon of a different order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
He left a document behind him

War may be called the product of capitalist society since this society, and the aggressive nature of the system, creates problems that lead to war. But a depression is of the very essence of capitalist society; the economic cycle of boom and bust is the way capitalist economy works. Production of surplus is essential to the operations of capitalism and results from processes that are independent of the will of man. A depression, far from being brought about by any particular action, is the result of a combination of many forces that are long in developing.

Thus, the concept of "delaying depression" is, at best, nebulous. It conforms with—and is the product of—the currently popular mythology that the business cycle can be controlled by government action. When progressives set forth a program to "delay depression," they would appear to be resorting to slogans simply because, it is hoped, such slogans will "catch on." The primary requirement of a slogan, however, is that it should be true, that it calls for something which can in reality be achieved.

BENEFITS OR PROFITS: Furthermore, the assertion that a militant campaign for economic rights is possible only within the framework of "delaying depression" runs counter to experience. Important and significant gains have been won in this country and others—the eight hour day, five day week, unemployment insurance, higher wages, to mention but a few—without using this slogan.

And at the present late stage of the boom when welfare measures, because they cut into profits, are likely to accelerate the onset of crisis, a program to meet people's needs is not compatible with the goal of "delaying depression."

History shows that when labor and popular movements hinge their program on controlling the business cycle, they tend to end up by subordinating their program of benefits for the people to the goal of maintaining prosperity. This is no accident: the goal requires maintaining and increasing profits.

The British Labour Party, for example, came to power in 1945 with a program far more radical and comprehensive than any that has been suggested in this country. Within a few years it found itself—in the interests of "delaying depression"—imposing wage freezes and even wage cuts, while profits were permitted to soar. This was a logical development from the assumption by the Labour Government of the responsibility for "delaying depression."

Because this concept is illusory and false, it hinders understanding how capitalist economy operates and fosters an approach which aims at manipulating the economy rather than building a political movement. It actually diverts support from the immediate demands of labor and progressives—irrespective of how its case is argued—to a rationale which can just as easily be turned against labor's demands (as the British Labour Party experience shows).

WORKERS AND KEYNES: One of the major political arguments made is that

> ". . . the great masses of workers and farmers, most of whom never heard the name of [John Maynard] Keynes, have taken, however, one thing from the Keynism of the New Deal period: that the government can do something about economic matters and has a responsibility to do so. This thinking has entered into the mass consciousness of our epoch and by so doing has become a material force, one with which every Administration, even that of Eisenhower, has to cope."[2]

Certainly, there is this new mass consciousness. But where did it arise? "New Deals" have been more or less common in the history of capitalism. Bismarck, for example, seeking to take the wind out of the sails of the rising labor and socialist movement in Germany, put in force a "new deal" in the 1870's.

What is new in today's consciousness stems from the existence of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, and from the worldwide impact of its five year plans—at a time when the capitalist world failed to meet the basic human needs of its citizens. Even at its then low level of productivity, the Soviet Union showed in the 30's that a state can be responsible for meeting the needs of its people. In a sense, the New Deal was made necessary by this challenge. The "Soviet experiment" furthermore provoked much discussion and thinking about planning in the U.S. of the 1930's. The widespread recognition that government does have a responsibility for the welfare of its people represented a qualitative change. But the Western welfare approach, within the private property framework, is sharply distinguished from a planned economy geared to the needs of the people.

The two-day week

THERE NOW approach the last days of work done by mechanically repetitive and brutalizing motions. The "five-day-week-end" may seem a crooner's whimsy but it may well be a wise estimate of what can soon become a watchword of the trade unions, a fundamental demand of the workers.

Horizons, Paris, 12/55

QUESTION OF SOCIALISM: The program of those who would "delay depression" ignores the role of the successful socialist state, and indicates the need for a correct perspective here on the question of socialism. These progressives proclaim socialism as the ultimate goal but divorce it completely from immediate aims. This is in direct contrast to the real Marxist approach which relates the fight for immediate aims to ultimate goals.

The best program obviously should express the most urgent immediate demands of labor—as did FDR's "Economic Bill of Rights." It would also include demands that may not now be uppermost in the minds of labor, but that are of longer term significance. Whether or not progressives can agree on what the latter should be will be a test of their maturity. But they have successfully done so in the past—notably in demands for shorter hours, social security, conservation of resources. In each of these they anticipated and therefore provided significant leadership to the popular achievements of the 1930's.

RIGHT TO PROPAGATE—Obviously, the program will not be socialism because a progressive movement today can be very much broader than those who believe in socialism. But a progressive movement today cannot be made up of those who will deny socialists the right to propagate belief in it, or be unwilling to discuss socialist solutions, any more than it can be composed of those who engage in red-baiting.

It is equally important to avoid the pitfalls of socialist-baiting from the left and red-baiting from the right.

Vie Nuove, Rome
PRIVATE ENTERPRISE
"You're sure they're fresh?"

The fight for immediate welfare demands is no less an activity, no less effective in support of the immediate demands of labor, when divorced from "delaying depression." Doubtless labor and political leaders who believe capitalism can solve the problem of depression (and support labor's welfare demands on the ground that they provide the means for delaying or avoiding depression—yes, even as the best weapon against communism) will presently retain the allegiance of the great mass of the working people.

But can progressives reasonably expect to steal any of that allegiance with illusory slogans? Will progressives, by propagating their own support for immediate demands, in their own terms, alienate workers; or will they draw at least some of them to the progressives' position?

The need cannot be ignored for trade union people to understand, in clear and concrete detail, what is wrong in their leaders' optimism about delaying and avoiding a major depression. Such understanding can lead to more effective efforts to mitigate the common man's immediate problems and to better understanding as to what is needed ultimately to overcome them.

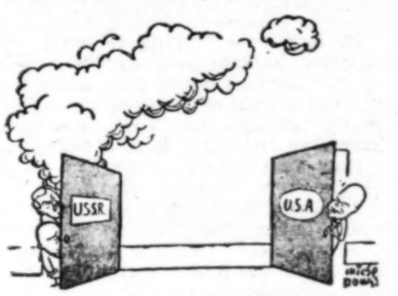
1 Celeste Strack (Political Affairs, 11/55); Adam Lapin (Daily Worker & People's World).
2 Letter on the Draft Program (Political Affairs, 4/54).

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

countries adhering to the five principles but is now winning new support, as witness the Pope's recent message. Mr. Eisenhower reasserted U.S. reliance on "the awesome power of the atom . . . as a guardian of the free community and the peace" and, to the N.Y. **Times** (1/8), "supplied final evidence that disarmament is not a possibility in the present world." Congressional sources simultaneously said a new and bigger H-bomb (equivalent to 50 million tons of TNT as compared to the 15 million-ton Bikini bomb) would be tested in the spring.

VOICES ARE RAISED: The President's relatively moderate tone could not conceal Washington's exclusive reliance on military force, its lack of positive ideas, and its entrapment in its own



Carrefour, Paris

"Did you sneeze?"

propaganda. Yet stronger Western—even American—criticism of the foundations of Washington's policy was being made. Pearson, criticizing Washington's military orientation, urged recognition of China and negotiations with it on Far East problems. His plea coincided with

- A Peking warning that it will not consent to an indefinite stalling of its Geneva talks with the U.S.
- Washington's preparations to bolster SEATO "in expectation of a crisis in Indo-China next summer" (**Business Week**, 12/24).
- A warning from N. Viet Nam President Ho Chi Minh that the S. Viet Nam government, under U.S. instigation, is refusing to carry out Geneva armistice terms for free elections in June.

WITHER PAKISTAN? Outspoken criticism of Western military pacts, that is, of the policy of strength, came also from two U.S. columnists—Walter Lippmann and Joseph C. Harsch.

Harsch (**Christian Science Monitor**, 1/5) said the SEATO and Baghdad pacts have had "the net effect of weakening not strengthening" the Middle East and Southeast Asia. He warned "we should not be surprised" if Pakistan follows the U.S.S.R.'s advice to quit the METO alliance.

Lippmann (1/3) pointed out that in the Middle East and South Asia, where it has now for the first time become a principal power, Russia is exploiting "the reaction to our policy of military alliances." He saw no hope "that the rapid deterioration of the Western position can be arrested" so long as we pursue this policy.

OUTBREAKS IN JORDAN: New popular demonstrations against the Baghdad Pact in Jordan served to underline these warnings. The outbreaks—in which U.S. technical aid headquarters were burned and the U.S. consulate stoned—came after the government had rescinded its promise of early elections, banned a People's Front meeting, roused popular fears it would again try to take the country into the Baghdad alliance.

The demonstrations were another blow at the prestige of Britain, which has controlled Jordan since it became a state after World War II. They also helped touch off the unprecedented Tory attack on Prime Minister Eden (See Cedric Belfrage, p. 6). And they were damaging to Washington, sponsor of the pact.

Trial balloons about Middle East Marshall Plans, possible Arab-Israel settlements, joint action programs—these were being floated in London last week in advance of Eden's scheduled trip to talk with Eisenhower later this month. Unconfirmed reports said Britain was ready to agree to keep China out of the UN if the U.S. could finance a Middle East Marshall Plan. But prospects for such financing seemed dim: prominent Democrats like Sen. George and Russell opposed even the proposal to put foreign aid on a long-term basis; Republican nationalists are increasingly hostile to aid for anyone but Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee.

SNAKE AND THE NILE: Even Washington's offer to help Egypt build its Nile Dam faced strong Congressional opposition. Southern Congressmen are against it because they fear Egyptian cotton competition; Western congressmen because the Administration has denied them a big government dam on the Snake River at Hell's Canyon (whose cost would be one-third of the Nile project). And Egypt itself has objected to the terms of the U.S.-British-World Bank offer as threatening its sovereignty.

But if evidence was mounting that Washington's "strong policy" was backfiring, it was equally clear that the Western governments could not agree on an alternative. Within the Administration, according to the **New Republic** (1/9), views on handling the Middle East "crisis" ranged from proposals to close the Dardanelles to Soviet-bloc ships—and dispatch U.S. troops—to recognition that the Middle East is a legitimate area of Russian interest, and negotiation to neutralize it by great power agreement.

THE FRENCH VOTE: Proof of the self-defeating character of Washington's policy was also apparent in W. Europe. French election returns showed that after 10 years of cold war and $10 billion of U.S. aid, the Communist Party's share in the popular vote had dropped only 3% from 1946 to 1956—28.6% to 25.6% (See Anne Bauer, p. 7). Washington, London and the Vatican were dismayed. If the Communists and Poujadists could do so well "in the midst of the present artificial prosperity," asked Ludwell Denny (N.Y. **World-Telegrram**, 1/3), "how many more will turn to them in blind desperation if France suffers an economic depression?"

The new Communist strength in Parliament is important but the situation is difficult for gainers as well as losers. For the CP is presently isolated and can not play its proper role as long as the Socialist and left-center parties refuse co-operation. **Business Week** (1/7) saw ahead in France "chaos or a government including the Communists," or perhaps

> ". . . a shaky government unable to act decisively in N. Africa or give strong support to NATO. . . . One thing that might force the hostile elements of the center together: France's desperate need for a quick solution in N. Africa."

GERMANS WITH BOMBS? One result of the French elections will be to strengthen the W. German reorientation of Washington's policy. Building of a W. Germany Army is now under way with the call-up of the first volunteers, mostly veterans of Hitler's army. U.S. training and equipment of this army begin this month. UN observers were predicting that Washington would give the W. Germans nuclear weapons before the year is out. With German reaction growing stronger, with the release of such monstrous war criminals as S.S. Gen. Sepp Dietrich, these observers viewed the prospect with extreme alarm.

Great changes, it is true, are now taking place and the curents of history are not moving in the direction sought by those whose policy rests on mass destruction weapons. But acceleration of the nuclear arms race, now going on, enforces an imperative on the American people. They must see to it that their government, which in 1955 was forced to agree to the principle of negotiations, actually negotiate in 1956.

Taylor is cleared

(Continued from Page 1)

being present at the Mad Hatter's tea party."

THE REVERSAL: At hearings last spring before the Intl. Organization Employes Loyalty Board, U.S. agency set up to screen Americans working for international agencies, Taylor demanded the right to confront Miss Bentley. The Board summoned her but when she refused to appear, could not compel her since it lacks the subpena power. On her previous testimony the Board nevertheless last July found Taylor had engaged in espionage, was placed in his Treasury job by "Communists and espionage agents," was "and possibly still is an adherent to the Communist ideology."

The Board granted a re-hearing to Taylor in October and in a decision handed down last week reversed itself completely, clearing Taylor of all charges. Board Chairman Henry S. Waldman said that Taylor's witnesses had caused the Board's change of mind. With the "Spy Queen" in imminent danger of an expose, Waldman said:

> "Elizabeth Bentley was not an issue in this case. Anything which she knew about him came from hearsay sources, so that this board does not consider its decision a repudiation of her general veracity."

But Taylor's attorney Byron Scott, a former Democratic congressman from California, called the decision

> ". . . the strongest attack that has been made on the credibility of Elizabeth Bentley. It also raises some sharp questions for Atty. Gen. Brownell and FBI Director Hoover to answer since they have both endorsed her unequivocally."

HORRIBLE PUNISHMENT: Taylor said he had been fortunate because, unlike

WILLIAM H. TAYLOR
What happens to a man

U.S. agencies, the Fund does not suspend an employe under fire. He therefore held his job throughout the long fight. Nevertheless it took its toll. He said:

> "What happens when a thing like this occurs is that you withdraw from people. Some friends fall away, but more important, you withdraw into yourself and feel exiled and lonely. If it were not for the support of my wife and my lawyer I could never have survived it. I feel I've been through a horrible punishment. I hope now it's over forever."

Many for whom it was not all over were heartened as the "Spy Queen" wobbled on her throne. Among these were V. Frank Coe and Edward J. Fitzgerald, like Taylor hounded by Bentley's fantasia. Fitzgerald commented:

> "Now that a government loyalty board has thrown out Miss Bentley's charges against Taylor, I hope that Atty. Gen. Brownell will move to vacate the contempt citation against me, for at bottom this proceeding is based on the same fantastic story. The Justice Dept. would not let Taylor cross-examine Miss Bentley. They have also used every legal maneuver to prevent me from doing so."

Last summer Fitzgerald refused to discuss his associates before a Grand Jury and claimed his right under the Fifth Amendment. He was offered "immunity" under the "compulsory testimony" act, but still refused. At his contempt trial in August he subpenaed Miss Bentley, Brownell and FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. The government quashed all three subpenas. He was found guilty and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. A decision on his appeal has been postponed pending a Supreme Court ruling on the case of William Ludwig Ullmann, which tests the constitutionality of the "immunity" law.

Other Bentley victims, deported, imprisoned or blacklisted, cheered at what they felt was the first rip in a tissue of lies.

McCARTHY SETBACK: Last week other victories were celebrated. In Boston Judge Bailey Aldrich acquitted Leon J. Kamin of contempt charges. Kamin was a target of Sen. McCarthy in the Senator's witch-hunting heyday, when he chaired the permanent investigations subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. In January, 1954, McCarthy presided alone at a Boston probe of defense plants with Roy M. Cohen as committee counsel. Kamin, then a research assistant at Harvard, was summoned and testified he had been a Communist intermittently from 1945 to 1950 but refused to name his associates.

When Kamin's contempt trial opened last October, McCarthy was called as a witness and his supporters staged a demonstration. Judge Aldrich declared a mistrial. It was then resumed without a jury.

In dismissing the charges last week Judge Aldrich said the McCarthy committee had gone "beyond the scope of its granted authority" in investigating defense plants. The judge held that it could only probe "government departments." He criticized Kamin for "premeditated and intentional" refusal to answer questions, even though he claimed the Constitutional privilege, but said that McCarthy had no power to ask such questions.

McCarthy once greeted a set-back by exclaiming: "It's the most unheard of thing I ever heard of." Judge Aldrich's decision brought another splutter from McCarthy: "It's ridiculous to the point of being ludicrous."

WEINSTOCK CASE: A two-to-one decision of the Federal Court of Appeals dismissed perjury charges against Louis Weinstock, Communist Party leader and former official of the AFL painters' union. Already serving a three-year prison sentence under the Smith Act, Weinstock had been convicted by a lower court of perjury for telling the Subversive Activities Control Board that the "United May Day Committee" had not been in existence since 1948. Weinstock was sentenced to from one to five years' imprisonment for that statement. In reversing the conviction the majority decision of the Court of Appeals said the matter was "wholly immaterial to the issues posed."

KUTCHER CASE: Second thoughts also struck the Veterans Administration. On Dec. 15 the VA notified James Kutcher, who lost both legs in World War II, that his pension would be cut off because of his activities in the Socialist Workers Party. Last week the VA's Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures ruled that it had not been established "beyond a reasonable doubt that the veteran did knowingly and intentionally render assistance to an enemy of the United States." His pension was continued. (A threat to dispossess him from public housing was also lifted. See p. 6.)

BELFRAGE ON EDEN'S PLIGHT

Will Gaitskell grab chance to be man of the hour?

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE GALLANT Sir Anthony Eden leaves Jan. 24 for a Jan. 30 date with Eisenhower and Dulles in the midst of the noisiest British political brawl of recent times. The brawl is over a matter of no small moment—the fantastic dilemma into which Anglo-U.S. policy has got itself in the Middle East. But the noise made by both Tory and Labour sides consists mainly of those breath-taking hypocrisies and evasions for which Britain's Parliament and press became noted during the period of Fascist-Nazi aggressions from Abyssinia to Spain to Munich.

In one week the pro-Labour tabloid **Daily Mirror** (world's biggest daily sale) has brought out its two-inch-high-type —usually reserved for crime and sex— three times for page one political headlines. "A VERY, VERY NASTY SMELL INDEED" (Dec. 31) referred to the government's "diplomatic and political pimping on an astonishing scale" in sending decrepit tanks via Belgium to Egypt marked "farm machinery." "ARROGANCE, EVASION, POMPOSITY, FUMBLING" (Jan. 2) referred to the Cyprus shambles. "EDEN IS A FLOP" (Jan. 5) headed two columns of excerpts from attacks on Eden in Tory papers which accuse him of "dithering, timidity, delay, indecision, mistakes, half measures."

Daily Mirror THURS JAN 5 1956
2d FORWARD WITH THE PEOPLE No. 16,196
Even the TORIES are saying it now...
EDEN IS A FLOP

MIDDLE EAST LAUGHTER: On Jan. 3, **Mirror** columnist-MP Richard Crossman threw in a dispatch from Jordan—where Saudi Arabia is accused of using oil royalties to bribe its neighbor out of the Baghdad Pact—on the "catastrophic blunder" of Sir Gerald Templer's mission to that British appendage: Templer's attempt to shove Jordan into the pact had boomeranged and "made us the laughing stock throughout the Middle East."

Other key Labourites are scurrying between Cairo, Tel Aviv and Baghdad seeking ammunition against the Tories for the Middle East debate after Parliament reopens late this month. They include Herbert Morrison; Alfred Robens, the party's top foreign affairs man; and retiring chairman Edith Summerskill.

It would seem that Ike and John Foster will be parleying with a British leader whom nobody in Britain loves. But the real cause of the matter here is that both parties are conscious of sharing responsibility for Britain's Middle Eastern impasse. Tory spokesmen are never bashful in recalling:

- The Baghdad Pact, about which Labour now expresses doubts, was approved by Commons without opposition.
- On Cyprus, while "we think there cannot be self-determination, the hon. gentlemen opposite thought that too when they were in office" (December Middle East debate).
- Present arms deliveries to Egypt are in fulfilment on contracts negotiated under the Labour administration. The White Paper on surplus arms exports, which will be the basis of the coming Middle East debate, may show (according to the Tory **Telegraph**) that arms exports were much larger under the Labour government than now.

A TURNING POINT? Nevertheless something important has been happening behind the tumult which could be decisive in preventing a diplomatic fiasco from developing into a Middle East war—potentially another world war.

On the surface, the argument here has been between Labour's tendency to favor Israel and the Tory tendency to favor the Arab states which demand the sacrifice of Israel—all within the framework of the over-all Western policy of "strength" against Russia and a Middle Eastern "peace" assuring continuation of Western oil profits.

Neither position can be made to fit the frame since on the one hand Israel refuses to play the role of sacrificial lamb, and on the other any form of alliance with Israel would propel Iraq —the key Baghdad Pact country, to which really modern and significant arms flow ceaselessly—out of the pact into the new club of Arab "neutrals."

ALICE'S MALLETS: That is the essence of the dilemma encompassing the whole area, from Cyprus (where as one Labour wit puts it, "we have created a shambles and called it a base") to Greece (where fury over Cyprus threatens a mass demand in the spring elections to get out of NATO, already lamed by the Greece-Turkey split). The result has been reminiscent of Alice in Wonderland's croquet party with flamingo mallets which wouldn't hold still, and hedgehogs and soldiers for balls and hoops, which kept walking away.

The sensible conclusion is that the frame has to be scrapped. The policy of "strength" against Russia to keep it out of the Middle East is dead because Russia is already there. The Aswan Dam negotiations with Egypt have shown that the West can no longer buy poor Arab countries on their own terms. The division of Middle Eastern oil spoils between Western monopolies and a few purchased sheiks who police the starving populations was very cozy while it lasted, but cannot be maintained. The Arab peoples are insisting on their share, and a UN rather than a Western supervision is needed to see that they get it.

LABOUR PUSHING: The important development behind the unreal tumult is that the Labour Party leadership has been pushed into a position where it must challenge the validity of the frame or lose the best political weapon offered it in a long time. The pushing is being done by the group of left-tending realists in the Parliamentary Labour Party, which is larger than you might think (its size was indicated by the 70 votes for Bevan against Gaitskell as party leader), and which probably represents most of the party rank and file.

Another element going in this direction is the Poale Zion group of Mapai (Socialist) Zionists affiliated with the party, which has much influence on its Middle Eastern policy. A spokesman for this usually anti-Soviet group indicated to me its awareness that, whether anyone likes it or not, the U.S.S.R. must be brought in for discussions "so that we can at least see what they'll do to join up in an agreement to keep the peace."

"A NEW APPROACH": In the opinion of Konni Zilliacus, Labour's best-informed MP on foreign affairs, when Gaitskell and Robens proposed to Eden this month "a new approach to Russia asking for her co-operation" for Middle Eastern peace the party leaders "crossed the Rubicon without knowing it." (Robens had already challenged Eden in vain to disclose what Molotov is supposed to have said at Geneva, to make Eden conclude Russia would not cooperate.) At least a "slow, halting move forward" can be expected from that position; but how far they will go in accepting its implications depends on the pushing from inside.

Zilliacus is the only MP so far to try to outline—in the December Middle East debate—what these implications are. He said that to stop trying to ignore the Russians in the Middle East means, as the only alternative, the broadest co-operation with Russia on a UN basis. It means recognizing in deeds, not merely in words as Eden has already done, that "we and the Communist countries must learn somehow or other to live together in the same world"—because "neither of us can bully, blackmail or paralyze the other into submission."

COMMON ACTION: It means recognizing that the Baghdad Pact as a "bastion against Soviet aggression" is a fraud, and that Russia is "bound to feel" that air bases 20 minutes away from Soviet oilfields are a threat of Western aggression. Said Zilliacus:

> "We might try the policy of common obligations and common action through UN with the Soviet Union. Of course, such a policy is impossible unless we have a common interest with the Soviet Union, and I believe that we have."

HUGH GAITSKELL
On the other side of the Rubicon

In any case "trying to build up a superior balance of power" is hopeless, "partly because man's destructive power has outrun his capacity to survive" and partly "because men's minds are turning away from this kind of thing."

How fast men's minds are turning to the new fashion of neutrality is symbolized by Tito's visit to Cairo, where he and Egyptian Premier Nasser were reported "working for a neutral bloc from the Sudan to the Danube."

SAVE CAPITALISM: On the same day British diplomats from all over the Middle East huddled in London to discuss, with relation to Eden's Washington trip, what could be salvaged from the debris of the "policy of strength." The Egyptian press commented that these talks were doomed "unless Britain realizes the whole Middle East wants to be neutral." By comparison with this voice of the Arab world, the shouts of Jordan's "Ambassador" in London that Ben-Gurion's latest speech "indicates once more the aggressive intentions of the Israeli government" hardly came through as a whisper.

Eden and Dulles, faced with the need to continue the cold war and the arms race or put the final skids under capitalism, will no doubt be seeking more ingenious angles to carry on the "policy of strength" without blowing everybody up. Since Dulles will have to remind Eden that it's election year with the usual clamor for peace plus the pro-Israel lobby to worry about, I hope Sir Anthony takes along plenty of aspirin.

Meanwhile British popular pressure for a clear, untrammeled policy for peace in the Middle East offers Labour's Gaitskell his biggest chance to be the man of the hour—if he is willing to grasp it.

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GWINN AMENDMENT SET BACK IN TWO STATES

Courts stay eviction of tenants who spurned loyalty oaths

COURT RULINGS in New York and Jersey last month stayed—and perhaps prevented—the eviction of tenants in public housing who refuse to take "loyalty oaths."

The New Jersey decision came in the case of James Kutcher, a veteran who lost both legs in the war and is threatened with loss of his disability pension for his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Kutcher had refused to sign a loyalty oath required by the Newark Housing Authority under the Gwinn Amendment. The oath form demanded that he deny membership in approximately 200 organizations on the Attorney General's list.

On Dec. 19 the N.J. Supreme Court ruled that the "consolidated list" of the Attorney General included organizations labeled variously as "communist," "fascist," "subversive," and that the Gwinn Amendment authorizing such tenant oaths referred only to "subversive" organizations.

The court ruled also that refusal to sign an oath was not proof of membership in any of the organizations listed and that

> "... even proof that the tenant was a member of an organization of the proscribed class, knowing nothing of its character, would not sustain an administrative decision to evict a tenant from public housing."

EVADE KEY QUESTION: In Brooklyn five justices of the Appellate Division ruled similarly in staying the evictions of 16 tenants from N.Y. public housing. There the test cases were those of Mr. and Mrs. David Weixel of Queensbridge Houses and Mrs. Rebeka Peters of Williamsburg Houses.

The Brooklyn decision said the N.Y.C. Housing Authority had "exceeded its statutory powers" in requiring a denial of membership in all organizations on the Attorney General's list instead of only those classed as "subversive." It did not include the more sweeping aspects of the New Jersey ruling.

Though neither decision touched on the constitutionality of the Gwinn Amendment, they effectively balked eviction efforts. The N.Y. Housing Authority was considering an appeal. The U.S. Supreme Court has upheld a Wisconsin State Supreme Court ruling that the Gwinn Amendment violated both the Federal and State Constitutions. The Public Housing Administration announced that it would try to enforce the amendment in the other 47 states and N.Y. City went ahead as if the Supreme Court had not ruled.

THE MEANING OF THE JANUARY 2 ELECTION

Will there be a new Popular Front in France?

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

AFTER A FIVE-YEAR succession of right-wing governments that often changed hands but hardly ever politics, the French have sent a left-wing majority into their Chamber of Deputies. This is the first conclusion that strikes one if one splits the new Assembly in two along the now notorious Mendes-France-Edgar Faure dividing line and adds up the two halves. This would be according to simple arithmetic and without considering day-to-day political expediency. It is the kind of conclusion few party leaders and political commentators so far have cared to draw.

The outcome of the elections is not, properly speaking, the result of a landslide. The spectacular changes in the new Assembly are not due primarily to a massive change of votes. The Communists, whom a fraudulent electoral law deprived of nearly half their deputies in the previous elections, merely recovered most of the seats unjustly lost in 1951. As for the neo-Fascist Poujade movement, it inherited most of its voters from de Gaulle's once powerful, now almost completely disintegrated RPF.

Canard Enchaine, Paris
"Didn't you vote for aspirin?"

WHAT THE LAW DOES: The law authorizes electoral alliances and attributes all seats in a district to the alliance obtaining 50% of the votes. This is one of the many complexities of French political life difficult for the citizen of a two-party country to comprehend. In any case it had falsified the make-up of the last Assembly out of all context with the voters' intentions.

The same law was still effective in the new elections, but through the play of circumstances it came to be applicable in less than a dozen out of the 103 electoral districts. Everywhere else, proportional representation ruled the attribution of seats. As a result, the new Assembly reflects very nearly like a mirror, the political physiognomy of the country.

Four trends characterize this picture:

1. The Communists, aside from their substantial gain of seats, gained votes and consolidated their position. They remain, with 25% of the total vote, the most important party in France.

2. The Socialists, second party in importance with 15% of the total vote, have lost a few seats but considerably increased their number of votes. The "Mendesist" Radical Socialists, having formed a common, Republican Front with the Socialists, also claim gains of votes.

3. The right-wing group of parties (Bidault's MRP, Faure's right-of-center Radical Socialists and Pinay's Independents) that furnished most of the governments of the past five years, has lost close to 50 deputies (close to 90, if one includes in this group the heavily shaken ex-RPF Social Republicans who often supplied voting support and cabinet members to the old government majority).

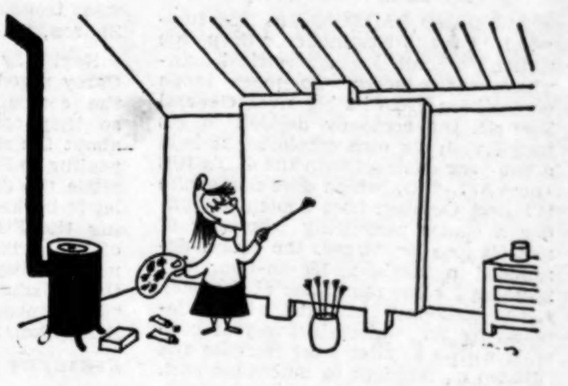
4. The neo-Fascist, tax-striking Poujade movement has been able, for its political debut, to send over 50 deputies into the House.

MEANING OF POUJADE: These trends are symptomatic. If not a danger signal, they are at least a warning. The mere fact that M. Poujade—the demagogic book-dealer from St. Céré, who proudly proclaims that he has no program except to "clean house" and promises he will personally hang his own deputies by the neck if they don't fulfill their electoral promises—should have been able to seduce 2,000,000 politics-wise, skeptical middle-class Frenchmen, is ample matter for reflection on the depth of the general dissatisfaction.

The Jan. 2 vote was first of all a vote against someone and against something: against the outgoing government, whose record is so disastrous that every major item on it — Indo-China and North Africa, German rearmament and the Saar, the housing problem, wages and cost-of-living — stands for a military catastrophe, a political blunder, or empty promises never made good. Rarely has the general political discontent been expressed more clearly in an election, more rarely still in a country that for the present knows neither unemployment nor any acute economic crisis.

POPULAR FRONT AGAIN? On the left, the election campaign took on an uncommon importance right from the start when the Communists launched the idea of a new Popular Front government. Popular Front is a magic word for those in France who are over 40 and remember with nostalgia the 1936 Popular Front government and its host of social conquests—the 40-hour week, paid vacations, etc. The hope of a new Popular Front government for '56 quickly dominated the campaign; it acted like a catalyser and gave the election debate a new lift because it showed a concrete way of how a real change could at last be brought about.

Materially—the outcome of the elections has confirmed it—a new Popular Front majority could have been prepared by a Mendesist-Socialist-Communist electoral alliance. This could have set off the landslide towards the left of which the elections gave only a limited if serious indication. This landslide might have been a certainty six months from now, so powerful is the general trend towards the left and toward a united left. One of the reasons why the Faure government dissolved the Assembly and precipitated the elections was precisely to forestall a decisive victory of the left. He has achieved his purpose, to an extent, at least, but his remedy has backfired: for his own and the other parties of the old majority group lost to Poujade, on their right, what the left did not have time to take.



Franc-Tireur, Paris
"I wonder what I'll put in the new picture . . ."

DEBATE GOES ON: The debate for and against a Popular Front government is by no means closed now that the elections are over. Such a government, grouping all left-wing elements in the new Assembly without any exclusion, is still feasible today. The decision this time is up to Mendes-France, who will no doubt be one of the first to be asked by the President of the Republic to attempt to form the new government, later this month.

Mendes-France awakened great hopes during his eight months as Premier in 1954. He rewarded some of these hopes when he ended the Indo-Chinese war in July, 1954; he disappointed others when he invented, then forced through the House, the Paris Treaty agreement rearming Western Germany. He has nonetheless kept the confidence of many because of his executive "style," the promptness of his decisions, and his proclaimed will to bring about the change so evidently desired by the country.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN? Mendes-France will be placed, with his Republican Front group of approximately 160, between (to his right) some 190 deputies of what is left of the old right-wing majority group, and (to his left) 150 Communist deputies. Since he cannot govern alone, will he seek agreement on a minimum program with the Communists? Or will he make a compromise settlement with Bidault's MRP and Pinay's Independents? During the election campaign he accused the latter of all the sins of the past five years of government. And if he does—deceiving his voters and helping the old, discredited right-wing majority back into the saddle—will such a government be able long to resist popular pressure in a country that has voted to the left and for a profound, a real change?

That is the question.

WASHINGTON RALLY PLANNED

NAACP demands firm civil rights laws, raps both old parties for evading issue

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE "was thrust into the lap of Congress" by Emmett Louis Till's Mississippi lynchers last August, NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins told a year-end meeting in New York. Despite obvious efforts of both Democrats and Republicans to evade it, he said,

> ". . . Congress must pass bills strengthening the federal civil rights laws and giving the Dept. of Justice authority to proceed where personal civil rights . . . are violated."

Wilkins added that if there had been a federal anti-lynch law somebody would have been punished for the Till lynching.

Other speakers addressing the 125 national delegates to the 47th annual business meeting included special counsel Thurgood Marshall, director of branches Gloster B. Current, labor secy. Herbert Hill and Washington bureau chief Clarence Mitchell. NAACP president Arthur B. Spingarn presided.

WASHINGTON RALLY: The NAACP and 50 cooperating organizations will hold a civil-rights rally in Washington soon to focus national attention on appropriate legislation, Wilkins said. Next summer they will

> ". . . present to each major party convention a civil-rights platform on which the party and its platform may be judged next November."

The NAACP's legal department, Marshall said, was ready to file in every community where a suit is requested to secure compliance with the Supreme Court orders on desegregation. Anti-integration had so exposed "all their tricks" that the NAACP knew just what they intended to do, he said. To show that those who defied the rulings had more to lose than Negroes, Marshall cited the Atlanta golf-course case. There the mayor decided

> ". . . it would be silly to take city jobs from 100 employes and to deprive a large number of white golfers of the pleasure of playing merely to keep a few Negroes away."

EXPULSION SOUGHT: Clarence Mitchell blamed a "peace pact" between Southern and Northern Democrats for failure of the 84th Congress to consider civil rights issues in its first session. President Eisenhower, he said, "considered other matters more important."

The NAACP has been studying methods to unseat or expel members of Mississippi's delegation from Congress, all of whom, Mitchell charged, "hold their offices illegally." Sen. James O. Eastland, he said, "has a notorious record of fomenting sedition through vicious attacks upon the U. S. Supreme Court."

NAACP labor secy. Hill promised for 1956

> ". . . a vigorous program to destroy the barriers that prevent Negro wage earners from working at their highest skills in the North as well as in the South and which denies American society of needed manpower resources."

Branch director Current declared:

> "The NAACP had its best year in membership and fund raising. NAACP branches reported a total of nearly 300,000 memberships, as compared with a 1954 enrollment of 240,000. It is estimated that our total 1955 enrollment will pass 300,000."

Arkansas State Press
EXTENDING A HELPING HAND
"We think it's about time for the Eisenhower Administration to declare Mississippi a disaster area."

GBS means
Guardian Buying Service
—See P. 12

Kwak banquet

A BANQUET for Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak, to prevent their deportation to S. Korea, will be held Sat., Jan. 21, at 7 p.m., at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St., N. Y. C. Speakers will include Dr. W. E. B. DuBois; James Aronson, exec. editor of the GUARDIAN, and Abner Green, exec. secy., Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born. For reservations, write to Committee to Defend the Kwaks, 515 W. 11th St., Suite 3F, or call MU 4-3457. $5 a plate.

DEATH ON THE LINE IN THE NEW YEAR

The Westinghouse strike erupts in violence

By Lawrence Emery

SALES AND EARNINGS in 1955 tumbled for the Westinghouse Corp., the nation's second largest electrical manufacturing concern. To meet tough competition from its big rival, General Electric, the company decided to get tough with its own employes. It held a two-year contract with the CIO's IUE (now AFL-CIO) which does not expire till next October. Last September, under a clause permitting reopening of negotiations on wages, the union demanded a straight 15c-an-hour pay increase for the remainder of the pact.

The company countered with a demand for an immediate five-year contract with a smaller wage increase and insisted on its right to determine each worker's daily output without any union curb on speedup. The union wouldn't budge on the length of the contract; the company wouldn't even agree to submit grievances on work standards to arbitration.

At one minute past midnight on Oct. 17 the union struck; 44,000 workers in ten states shut down 30 of the company's plants. Nine days later the independent United Electrical Workers called out is 11,000 Westinghouse members, shut down another ten plants.

THE LONG SIEGE: Now in its third month, the strike is becoming one of the longest and bitterest of recent major labor struggles. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service stepped in, but talks have gotten nowhere. The company from the start sought, and in most places got, anti-picketing injunctions and at the same time began working up a back-to-work movement with special inducements to those returning to their jobs. Within a week there was a flare-up of picket line violence when police in Springfield, Mass., forced a path for strikebreakers and arrested seven pickets.

On Dec. 2 the company announced that it was "settling down for a long strike," slashed by 50% the salaries of all its elected officers and by 40% the salaries of other higher management personnel. At the same time engineers, scientists and administration employes were put on a weekly furlough on a rotation basis, while some 40,000 non-management non-professional employes were laid off.

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE: Strikebreaking efforts were stepped up. By Dec. 6 nine strikers had been arrested in Columbus, O., where a back-to-work movement had been announced on Nov. 27.

On Dec. 12 a dynamite explosion wrecked the automobile of Charles Clark, president of the Columbus IUE local union. On the same day there was trouble on the picket line in Sharon, Pa.

Next day IUE president James B. Carey urged that a special meeting of the company's stockholders be called so they could learn "the real facts about the strike" and said he was appealing to President Eisenhower to help settle the dispute. Official Washington let it be known that it was maintaining the Eisenhower policy of "hands off" in strike situations, but this didn't prevent Atty. Gen. Brownell from citing the striking UE a few days later as a "communist-infiltrated" union (GUARDIAN, Jan. 2).

STRIKERS BEATEN: On Dec. 15 six carloads of masked strikebreakers crashed the picket line at Trenton, N. J. Police moved in, escorted the cars into the plant, arrested 14 strikers. The same day a local court issued an injunction limiting pickets to six at each gate.

THE COPS MOVE IN ON THE STRIKERS AT COLUMBUS
Cops hustling two women pickets to the police station

On the same day a fact-finding committee of four clergymen was set up in Columbus, invited both sides to consult with it in an effort to "restore some sanity" to the situation there. Said local president Clark:

> "The turmoil in this strike results from one thing and one thing only—the company's continuous expenditure of money, time and effort to create a back-to-work movement and attempt to break our local union."

While these statements were being made, two more Columbus unionists were beaten; one was hospitalized, only to be arrested upon his release.

LONG TERM ONLY: At the same time, the company announced its rejection of a strike settlement proposal made earlier by the UE; the independent union had offered to return to work at once under a one-year extension of the present contract if the company would put into effect its offer of a 3% wage increase while negotiations continued on the union's demand for a 15c-an-hour boost and other demands. Said Westinghouse vice-president Robert D. Blasier:

> "The union is proposing a wage increase equal to that offered for the first year in the company's five-year offer. We have previously indicated that the company, for competitive reasons, cannot accept a short term proposal."

Meanwhile, some 60 IUE strikers had picketed the company's offices in Wall St., and in Trenton the local defied the injunction with a mass picket line that turned back six carloads of strikebreakers trying to enter the plant.

NO ARBITRATION: With Christmas approaching, the company decided to play Santa Claus, offered a $100 interest-free loan to any striker who applied for it. IUE officials called it a "bribe"; UE leaders said the company would do better if it paid strikers vacation pay due them. But picket lines of both unions parted for those applying for the loan.

Shortly before Christmas the governors of three states—George M. Leader, Pa.; Averell Harriman, N. Y.; Theodore McKeldin, Md.—proposed independently that the strike issues be submitted to arbitration. The IUE accepted the proposal; the UE withheld comment. On Dec. 20 the company rejected the offer.

Whatever Christmas cheer the company's loans brought, the spirit didn't last once the holiday was over. On Dec. 27 a picket line clash at Sharon, Pa., sent three persons to the hospital; on the same day four pickets were arrested in Bridgeport, Conn. On Dec. 28 the Westinghouse board of directors announced "unqualified support" for the management.

SENATE INQUIRY? At the turn of the year ten Democratic U. S. Senators issued a statement in which they said that failure of collective bargaining in the case made them "feel that the public interest requires an early Senate inquiry into the dispute." They added:

> "The stalemate seriously harms not only the best interests of the company, its stockholders and employes, but also the welfare of the country as a whole."

Before this statement could be published, the worst violence of the strike occurred, again in Columbus. The union there had announced in advance that it was calling out a mass picketline on Jan. 3. The demonstration was called, said local president Clark,

> ". . . because the company refused all pleas to bargain with the union in good faith, refused the urgings of governors, clergymen, mayors and congressmen for impartial arbitration of the issues in dispute and continued in its efforts to lure and coerce workers back to work by pressure, promises, prevarications, and the expenditure of millions of dollars on strikebreaking."

A DEAD STRIKER: About 2,000 pickets were on the line at 5:30 a.m. At least 100 law enforcers—some 60 deputy sheriffs and 40 Columbus policemen deputized by the sheriff—moved in with swinging clubs. The pickets held their ground and the battle lasted two hours. When it was over several automobiles had been damaged, picket shanties had been burned to the ground, eight strikers were injured, 90 were arrested—and striker Troy Tadloch, 27, was dead.

A coroner's inquest ruled that Tadloch had died of a heart attack; police reported there were no marks of violence on his body. But eyewitnesses said they had seen him bleeding from a clubbing; said IUE intl. rep. Earl Webb:

> "If he had a heart attack, it was because it was given him by the beating he took."

Tadloch left a child and a pregnant wife. A union statement said:

> "The tragic death of Troy Tadloch, an IUE member, unmercifully beaten on the picket line, is an almost inevitable climax of the premeditated violence, planned weeks ago, which Westinghouse management has deliberately provoked during this strike. [Tadloch was killed] by Westinghouse goons and strongarm men who have been hired as deputy sheriffs at $3 an hour. At least 60 of these $3-an-hour-deputies—whose salaries are paid by the corporation—helped provoke the picket line violence that occurred."

FACT-FINDING REJECTED: Next day a Federal mediator talked with both sides in Philadelphia but got nowhere. Finally he proposed a voluntary fact-finding board to settle the dispute; the union and the company would name one member each, with an impartial chairman named by the Mediation Service. The IUE promptly agreed if the company would accept the board's findings as binding, said it would send the strikers back to work at once pending the board's decision. At the same time Mayor M. E. Sensenbrenner of Columbus appealed to the mayors of all cities with struck Westinghouse plants to meet in Pittsburgh to seek a way of ending the strike.

But the same day all this was going on, new violence broke out in Mansfield, O., where 11 pickets were injured.

Next day, Jan. 5, Westinghouse rejected the proposal for a fact-finding board. The company seemed determined to stick to strikebreaking. For the New Year on the labor front, it was blood and death.

GBS also means Good Buys at Savings

—See Page 12

WORLD FELLOWSHIP CASE

Willard Uphaus found guilty of contempt in New Hampshire; he is freed in bail

ON JAN. 5 Dr. Willard Uphaus, exec. secy. of World Fellowship, Inc., was found in contempt of court and sentenced to jail in New Hampshire "until purged of contempt." The decision was made by Merrimac County Superior Court Justice George Grant. Uphaus was later freed in $1,500 bail, pending an appeal to the New Hampshire Supreme Court.

Dr. Uphaus has been hounded by New Hampshire's witch hunt since September, 1954. State Atty. Gen. Louis Wyman has been trying to force him to disclose the list of paid employes, lecturers and correspondence with lecturers at World Fellowship's summer center at Conway, N. H. The center is conducted "for purposes of vacation and open forums and seminars on social and religious topics of world concern."

THE 5 GROUNDS: At the Jan. 5 hearing Dr. Uphaus refused to "become an informer" on the following grounds: (1) The Bible teaches against bearing false witness; (2) the Methodist Church condemns "guilt by association"; (3) handing over other peoples' names for possible harassment would be in violation of the Fifth Amendment (Last June Wyman had boasted to Uphaus' attorneys about a cross-file he and other state attorneys general had built up); (4) he felt upheld by President Eisenhower's Bill of Rights Day speech calling on Americans to defend their liberties; (5) he was supported by what he said was the Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, through which the Christian, under God, after prayer and consultation, reaches an inner conviction of his own as to what is right and just.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN: During the hearing one of Uphaus' attorneys, Hugh Bownes of Concord, N. H., tried unsuccessfully to have the case dismissed on grounds that Wyman's "fishing expedition" violated the defendant's civil rights under the U. S. and New Hampshire constitutions.

Uphaus' chief counsel, Royal W. France, accused Wyman of persecuting his client for his connection with the Peace Crusade. He said:

> "Even Jesus of Nazareth Himself would be compelled to refuse to answer questions here because He opposed violence and taught the brotherhood of man."

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT GOT A CHILLY WASHINGTON RECEPTION

Brazil: Events move to a head for Kubitschek's inaugural

By Elmer Bendiner

JUSCELINO KUBITSCHEK, president-elect of Brazil, landed last week at the Key West Naval Base in Florida, bolted a half-hour breakfast with President Eisenhower and flew on to Washington. Secretary of State Dulles met him at the airport and remarked that since President Eisenhower had already welcomed him to the country, "that leaves little for me to do."

Kubitschek had been scheduled to make two addresses, one to the Senate the other to the House. Only half the Senators were on hand to hear him. He spoke briefly and then found that the House had adjourned for the day without waiting for him. Speaker Rayburn toured the empty chamber with him.

In his brief speech in the Senate Kubitschek said that Brazil stood with the U.S. against "extremist" ideologies. The N.Y. Times (1/5) commented that his speech was "designed to allay suspicions that his Administration might be sympathetic to communism."

TAKE OFFICE JAN. 31: Behind the disclaimer of the president-elect of the largest country in Latin America and his chilly Washington reception, momentous conflicts were moving swiftly to a head. Kubitschek, a Social Democrat, and his running mate of the Labor Party Joao (Jango) Goulart are symbols of a great popular upsurge in Brazil. They were elected with the votes of labor, and the Communists. Air Force and Naval leaders, along with pro-U.S. politicians, threatened violent coups to prevent their inauguration. Army leaders, with overwhelming popular backing, held the Presidential palace for Kubitschek, though it meant ousting two interregnum presidents who apparently were conspiring to frustrate the popular mandate.

When they take office on Jan. 31, however, Kubitschek and Goulart will cease to be merely symbols and begin to be their country's leaders. The movement that put them in office will still be there—and it will demand an accounting as they seek solutions to a strangling economic and political crisis. Moreover, beyond Brazil's borders, other movements and leaders watch to take their cues from the strongest power in the hemisphere south of the Rio Grande.

THE STATE OF BRAZIL: Rio de Janeiro's influential daily **Correio da Manha,** on the eve of Kubitschek's U.S. tour, said Brazil was gripped in the "worst inflationary cycle in its history, with serious economic and political consequences."

The cost of living rose 30% in Rio between December, 1954, and November, 1955. Food prices went higher. Key to the zooming grocery bills of Brazilians lay not at home but abroad, where Brazil's three major exports—coffee, cocoa and cotton, have found fluctuating markets.

Brazilians get less for what they produce and pay steadily more for what they must import from the U.S.: oil, automobiles, machinery, industrial equipment, etc. Present arrangements call for the shipment of imports and exports in foreign vessels; this confronts the Brazilian merchant marine with bankruptcy and adds heavily to the Brazilian freight costs. The dollar shortage grows and the government presses roll out the cruzeiros in ever increasing quantities to spin the inflation spiral higher.

FIGUREHEAD FIRMS: The chaos has not seriously interfered with tourists in Copacabana or with U.S. investments which, in 1953, totaled $1,630,000,000, netted a profit of $253,000,000. These figures do not include the investments and profit-taking of companies disguised as Brazilian by figurehead directorships. Such "national" companies are principally active in sacking the mineral wealth of the nation. Though coffee, cocoa and cotton dominate the exports, Brazil's sub-soil is rich with a potential as vast and as varied as North America's.

High quality iron, manganese, rock crystal, diamonds, mica, tungsten, uranium, lithium are now being mined for U.S. industry. U.S. Steel and Bethlehem have staked out vast areas of Brazil and take the whole product at bargain prices while Brazil's economy must mark time, waiting for industrialization.

Brazil's League of Natl. Emancipation, in a study of U.S. investments last year said:

> "Manganese in Lafaiete, for example, is being taken from mines which are almost depleted by the shameful and pitiless exploitation of the mine workers, and is transported at a loss by the railroads of Brazil. Starvation wages, low freight rates and empty mines—these are the results of the operations of Meridional Co., a subsidiary of the powerful trust, U.S. Steel."

VAST OIL RICHES: For years U.S. investors have eyed the enormous oil potential known to lie beneath Brazil's soil. Geologists estimate that Brazil contains 6% of all the earth's surface most favorable for the accumulation of oil.

The forces for national independence have set up the barricades at the oil fields and have so far balked every effort of the foreign oil companies to move in. Oil is nationalized, but lack of equipment and capital has slowed development. Though Brazil almost doubled its oil production last year (from 2,700 barrels a day to 5,000) its yield is still far short of the country's needs: 185,000 barrels a day. Oil-rich Brazil imports the difference.

HERE'S YOUR COAT—WHAT'S YOUR HURRY?
Vice President Nixon gives President-elect Kubitschek a hand

The chill Kubitschek found in Washington comes from the U.S. conception of Brazil—and all Latin America—as a splendid frontier for robber barons to plunder. Brazilians fear the analogy casts them in the role of the American Indian.

PLENTY OF TROUBLE: The determination of Brazilians to hold onto their country is irritating because Brazil is the pace-maker for the vast "frontier" which is already causing the plunderers enough trouble.

- **Chile,** where U.S. copper companies get far higher productivity and higher profits than they can hope for from their U.S. mines, is in a state of siege after more than a year of strikes. The pro-U.S. government of President Carlos Ibanez del Campo finds itself at odds with the people, the unions and Congress, and rides a whirlwind inflation. Last week Chile faced a general strike.
- **Cuba,** under the Batista dictatorship fears a collapse under the weight of its own sugar. The amount Cuba is permitted to export to countries other than the U.S. has been cut to 10% of its former figure this year. Cuba fears that next year the U.S., pressed by its own sugar growers, may cut its Cuban quota. As it is, the shaky colonial economy is plagued by seasonal mass unemployment to which sugar countries are addicted. Strikes and student demonstrations have kept the island sizzling.
- **Argentina,** where the forces for economic emancipation reportedly work beneath the surface, faces a period of continued instability.
- **Uruguay,** which is frequently held up as a model to more turbulent countries in Latin America is restive. The government has complained that the U.S. has cut off a prime customer by dumping U.S. surplus wheat on Brazil. Starved for dollars, Uruguay has pleaded for increased U.S. imports at better prices so that it can buy the equipment it needs for industry. Politically its officials strayed from the reservation by calling for recognition of China and its admission to the UN.
- **Peru,** ordinarily quiescent is demanding a higher sugar quota, and **Venezuela** is balking at further oil concessions.

TURNING EASTWARD: One way out for Latin Americans is to take their business elsewhere, principally to the socialist world where machinery may be obtained without strings. Brazil last year boosted its trade with the socialist world from $43,000,000 to $70,000,000; further increases are indicated for this year. Until now Brazil has dealt with China and the Soviet Union through third parties, but moves are reported to open up direct trade relations. Brazil trades its cocoa, cotton and coffee for industrial equipment. Last December a Polish mission was reported offering freighters, tankers and river craft. The N.Y. **Times** (12/31/55) said:

> "Shippers said the Polish salesmen promised delivery considerably earlier than U.S. or West European shipyards and on better terms."

Argentina and Uruguay have traded through all curtains, iron or bamboo, and socialist salesmen have found attentive ears in Ecuador and Mexico.

THE SHOWPLACE: There were spots where U.S. capital made deep inroads last year—such as Bolivia—and there were countries that offered little trouble—like Colombia and Guatemala—but there were embarassments.

- **Colombia** last year was the scene of bloody massacres, the destruction of whole cities, the suppression of Protestants.
- **Guatemala** maintained a dictatorship of the firing squad and the prison with a transparently phony election.

The frontier's show-place, site of an Intl. Peace and Progress Fair, was the Dominican Republic. It marked a quarter of a century of rule by the Caribbean's bloodiest dictator, Rafael Trujillo. There the U.S. could rest easy. Elsewhere the frontier was rough.

Carrefour, Paris

"Beg to report, Senor Admiral, that the crew on the lower deck is not overthrowing the government. They're dancing the cha-cha."

THOUGHT FOR '56—AND AFTER

**To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.**
***Prometheus Unbound*—Shelley.**

THE GUARDIAN's annual holiday mailing this season was a do-it-yourself New Year's card with the above theme from Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" and Artist Robert Joye's Guardian Angel doffing the fabled fetters.

"Thanks for the beautiful card," the replies are saying, "and the hope-giving verse." If we missed you (as a newsstand or bundle-order reader or for any other reason) we have a few to spare and will mail on request.

ADVERTISEMENT ADVERTISEMENT

Frankly, we hesitated to enter the Senator Eastland controversy with a reprint from the Daily Worker. *However, on reading a column by Howard Fast, we decided that he had hit at the crux of the matter. We believe there is no solution for the insanity of Congressional investigations of this sort except a direct examination of the essential question. We are printing Mr. Fast's column in full because we believe it contains an important statement long overdue; a statement important to every American.*

THE VIRTUOUS ONES

The shrewd racists who began to build the Ku Klux Klan in the eighteen-sixties, made a unique "virtue" out of a negative. The stamp of a tawdry nobility was placed upon all in their ken who were not Negro, and the worth of their worthless followers lay not in what they were but in what they were not.

I think this is not unlike the case of the gangster who said, in his defense, that he was not a communist. Neither are the officers of the Newspaper Guild, as they took great pains to point out at the conclusion of the recent Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearings on the press; but they were under no compulsion nor did they consider it necessary to explain what they were. Their virtue lay in what they were not, as their president, Joseph P. Murphy, put it:

"There are no communists and no pro-communists in the present leadership of the Newspaper Guild of New York."

Hats off and cheer! There are also neither communists nor pro-communists in Mr. Eisenhower's Cadillac Cabinet, among the faro dealers of Las Vegas, among the several hundred thousand dope peddlers who infest our nation, on the city Board of Estimate, among the herd of pimps who ply their trade in New York City, in the National Association of Manufacturers, in the well-organized and widespread vice racket, or among the leadership of the American Legion.

Thus is the company of the blessed organized, and virtue is common and binding; and I suppose it would not be too difficult to ignore the passionate declaration of the leaders of the Newspaper Guild. I question it, however, not only because I am a writer and intermittently a newspaperman, but because it is a position that cannot be taken for granted. It is a position inherently immoral, inherently rotten, inherently destructive and vicious; and it is also a position accepted all too easily and thoughtlessly by good people as well as evil ones.

The Newspaper Guild is vehement in its declaration that it does not welcome communists and that it will not lift a finger in the defense of any member who is fired for being a communist. Isn't it time for some small voice to ask, "Why?"

So far as I know, the Newspaper Guild takes no stand of this kind on alcoholics, users or peddlers of drugs, sadists, fascists, swindlers, corruptors of youth, pimps, prostitutes, gamblers, gossip-mongers who break hearts and families with equal facility, liars, perverts, war-mongers, racists, informers, traitors, renegades, critics who peddle their critical wares for money or favors, race track touts who print their stuff daily, phonies who give phony medical and psychiatric advice and a hundred other categories in our interesting and complex "free world."

They all share the single public virtue that remains current—an abstention from communism, or from Marxism-Leninism if you will. They may beat their mothers, kick their wives, lecher high and low, put quick fingers in another's till, defraud the government, peddle contraceptives to youth, write and sell dirty literature, dabble in Paris postcards, mark cards, develop a tidy income out of loaded dice, and break every one of the ten old-fashioned commandments; but so long as they are willing to swear that they do not and never have belonged to the Communist Party, they may enter into the company of the blessed.

It's worth thinking about, isn't it? It's worth a lot of thought, a lot of sober reflection.

What is a communist? I take my small definition from the dictionary at hand, **The New Dictionary**, published by Grosset & Dunlap and compiled and edited by nine important scholars. Communism: "A classless system of society in which the community or government owns the means of production and aims at an equitable distribution of wealth." And from the same book, Communist Party: "A working-class party whose program is based on Marxist principles and whose ultimate aim is the establishment of communism."

These are, by and large, correct definitions within their scope, and I want to state, flatly, that since the arrest and persecution of communists in America began, not one line of evidence to contradict the above has ever been produced.

The charges that communists desired to overthrow the government by force and violence have never been either substantiated or proven in any American court, nor have any of the thousand other slanders directed against the communists ever been proven.

Communists have been arrested and imprisoned, but not for attempting to overthrow the government, not for espionage, not for any sort of reprehensible or underhand practice. With all the perjured evidence and paid informers of the Department of Justice, no such charge was ever proven. Communists have been imprisoned on two charges:

Firstly: For conspiring to teach and advocate Marxism.

Secondly: For belonging to the Communist Party.

It is as simple as that, as terrible as that, as fraudulent as that, and I submit it to Mr. Murphy of the Newspaper Guild. If he has one shred of evidence to the contrary, I challenge him to submit it to the Department of Justice.

Yes, Mr. Murphy—it's a rotten, dirty and immoral lie. When you deny fair play and fair trial to the bravest and most principled group of men and women in the United States of America, then you do no credit to your craft and trade. We live by the pen, so to speak, and unless we use it truthfully, we are not worthy of it and we only degrade a noble and ancient profession.

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REPORT ON ALBANY

Harriman's message

By Arthur Schutzer

GOVERNOR HARRIMAN wrote his message to the N. Y. State Legislature with a Christmas gift from his Secy. of State, Carmine De Sapio—a fountain pen which automatically writes in the future tense.

Thus, Harriman promised 14 special messages to the legislature **at a later date**, on a host of vital subjects: poverty, problems of the aging, health, mental hygiene, housing, rent control, flood relief and control, highway safety, consumers, small business. To millions of New Yorkers who prefer the present tense, it is difficult to understand why Harriman could not have included in his present message specific proposals on these very pressing issues.

Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post Dispatch
Doing very nicely, thank you.

Dewey used to appoint special commissions to "study" matters he wanted to duck. Harriman apparently prefers the method of postponement by "special messages."

DOOM IN ADVANCE: In addition to this built-in delay, there is the additional postponement of the long-awaited report of the Heald Commission on Education. The report was expected early in January—it will not be made until at least Feb. 15, which means more marking time in the acute crisis in our school system caused by underpaid teachers, overcrowded and unsafe schools.

Since this legislative session, like its predecessors, will rush for adjournment by early April, these delays at the very outset doom needed legislation.

Among the Harriman proposals are:

CIVIL RIGHTS: Extend jurisdiction of State Commission Against Discrimination to FHA and Veterans Administration housing. Authorize Commission to act on its own, without a formal complaint filed by an individual.

LABOR: Increase unemployment insurance benefits to $40 maximum, plus $4 for each dependent up to 3; sickness disability to $36 maximum for 26 weeks. Increase workmen's compensation benefits (no definite amount proposed).

The Republicans, catching the future tense fever, proposed $40 maximum sickness disability benefits—$4 more than Harriman. Harriman further called for repeal of the Hughes-Brees Law (limiting employers' contributions to jobless pay); memorializing Congress for $1.25 minimum wage; extending unemployment insurance for all employes.

TAXES: "Humanizing" tax deductions for the aged, blind, needy. Personal income tax cut of $5 per taxpayer and $5 per dependent. While this is a feeble step towards easing tax load for low and middle income groups, it is preferable to the former 10% "forgiveness" tax cut device which benefitted mainly upper income brackets.

NOTE: Harriman and Republican leaders are already preparing a bi-partisan alibi for failure to pass even meager tax cut legislation this session. Their excuse will be that the "fiscal picture" may not be clear enough by April 15— the date for filing tax returns. Moreover, both Harriman and the Republicans are silent on **increasing** taxes on corporations and big business, to get funds for schools, housing, health, etc.

CIVIL SERVICE: Increase salaries, provide health insurance, a uniform 40-hour work week.

QUESTION: Where does Harriman stand on the State Security Risk Law, under which civil service workers are being hounded and fired on McCarthyite grounds and by McCarthyite procedures? The law expires June 30, 1956. It should be allowed to die, without extension.

Only vigorous legislative action by the people can insure that the legislative promissory notes fluttering in Albany are redeemed in down-to-earth fashion.

PUBLICATIONS

TURNING POINT Published by the Communist League
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Chicago

"U. S. FARMERS IN U. S. S. R.," Soviet feature-length color documentary starts Jan. 20, Cinema Annex, 3210 W. Madison. Fri., Jan. 20 only: In person, D. Gale Johnson, member, U. S. farm delegation, speaks at 8:15 p.m. Added attraction: "Russian Holiday," in color.

"SOVIET UNION AND CHINA." Joseph Starobin, author of "Paris to Peking." Also film. Wed., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Adm.: 50c. Sponsor: Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship.

Los Angeles

PATIO PARTY, Sun., Jan. 22, from 1 p.m. at 10542 Bradbury Rd. (6 blocks S. of Pico & Prosser). Barbecued sandwiches @ 25c and coffee or milk @ 10c, or plate luncheon @ 75c will be served. Hostess Karen Miller (age 7½) requests donations of jams, canned goods, cakes, books, records, toys or used clothing to be sold at Country Store Table. All proceeds go to the GUARDIAN.

Newark, N. J.

LECTURE AND FOLK DANCE, Sat., Jan. 28, 8:30 p.m., at 516 Clinton Av. SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN will speak on "Influence of Folk Music on Modern Composers." Jewish Philharmonic Chorus and Folk Dance group will perform.

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THIRD PARTY IN '56? Hear Max Gordon, Political Editor, DAILY WORKER, discuss outlook for progressives. Mon., Jan. 16, 8:30 p.m., Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx (White Plains line). Admission: Free.

MAUD RUSSELL, publisher Far East Reporter, 26 years in China, will discuss "The Far East Takes a Giant Step." Thurs., Jan. 19, 8:30 p.m. Adm. free. Village ALP, 28 Greenwich Av.

SQUARE DANCE. Eat, drink, swing your partner. Professional caller. Sat., Jan. 21, 8:30 p.m., at Flatbush Nursery School, 1162 E. 13th St., B'klyn. Cont. only $1. Sponsor: Flatbush Jewish School.

MON., JAN. 16, 8:30 P.M. Hear RICHARD A. YAFFE, noted writer, in timely discussion on "The Israeli-Arab Crisis." ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Admission: Free.

Hear well-known historian MORRIS U. SCHAPPES speak on Israel, Sun., Jan. 22, 8:30 p.m., at East N.Y. Community Center, 608 Cleveland St., B'klyn. Cont. 49c. Sponsor: East N.Y. Emma Lazarus.

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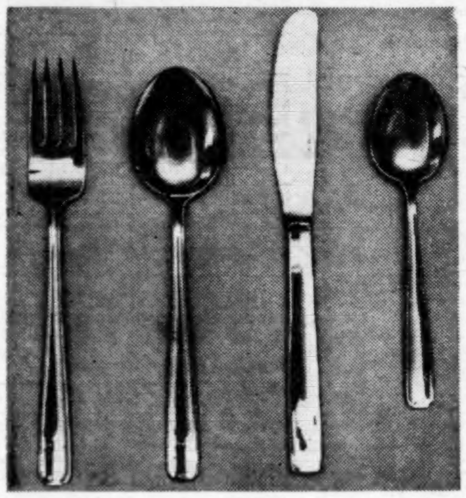

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the SPECTATOR

Sixteen tons

The current top song hit that has sold over a million records and 110,000 copies of sheet music is about a man who can't go when St. Peter calls because he owes his soul to the company store. Justin McCarthy, editor of the United Mine Workers Journal, thought it phenomenal that the nation should be singing "neither a love song nor a ballad. It does not contain the words 'moon' and 'June.'" He wrote to Merle Travis, composer of "Sixteen Tons" and printed his answer in full in the Dec. 1 issue. Here are excerpts:

IN OUR HOME in Kentucky the miner's **Journal** ranked alongside the family Bible and the "wishbook" (Sears-Roebuck catalogue). . . .

I was raised in the southwestern coal fields of Kentucky. My father was a miner in the little town of Beech Creek, in Muhlenberg County. . . The two openings were known as "Number Five" and "Number Nine." From the latter came the reason for the line . . .

I loaded sixteen tons of Number Nine coal
And the strawboss hollered, 'Well bless my soul.'

When the whistle from ol' Number Five came drifting over the hills at five o'clock in the afternoon Dad would brighten up like a child anticipating a fishing trip only one night away. This didn't happen too often in the summer when the demand for coal was at its lowest ebb. At these times a gloom would shroud the big man like a gray sky before an all-night drizzle. .

When the opposite occurred, and the thin sound of the whistle drifted to our alert ears, it was a different scene. Uncle Rob Travis was a happy man. . . . The Travis household was a brighter abode. Maybe dad would take the old five-string banjo from the nail on the wall and sing.

With mother in the kitchen adding more coal to the stove, she might have added a remark with an undertone of admiration, "Rob Travis, ain't you never gonna quit singin' them silly ol' songs?" But there was reason for gaiety. Tomorrow the mines was "runnin." . . . Maybe work would pick up. But supper was wonderful with the cornbread, new potatoes, buttermilk, blackberry jam and the ever-present "Miners' Strawberries" —better known as soup beans.

THEN THERE WERE THE STRIKES! To us and all the people we knew it meant "Root, hog, or die!" I became well acquainted with the "aid-hall." There we'd go to get whatever was to be given in the way of food to the miners on strike. Just enough beans and salt-pork to keep body and soul together. It seemed a festive time to me as a boy in my early teens, for there were the mass-meetings. Hundreds would gather and sit on slabs of wood laid across carbide cans and listen to the speeches. The promise of miners becoming united was music to the ears of the miners and their wives, but the entertainment they'd have between speeches was more musical to my young ears.

I'll never forget four Negro boys by the name of the Dean quartet (although one was named Doolin). With a sound that reminded me of an I. C. train whistle on a winter's night, they'd lean four black heads together and sing in perfect harmony,

When we get our union
When we get our union
There'll be no more scabbin' in District 23
And won't we be glad, Oh Good Lawd. . . .

The boys were not a professional group at all, but miners from nearby Drakesboro and Browder who had come to cheer the heavy hearts of workers in a little town of Beech Creek where Negroes were not allowed.

I have known the fruits of strikes. The bitter and the sweet. Hunger and music. Jokes and threats. Fist fights and murders!

THERE WERE FOUR OF US CHILDREN—three boys and one girl. While I never worked in the mines, my two older brothers did. . . .

My first year of high school at Drakesboro, Ky., went against my grain. I wanted to seek my fortune in the world of entertainment. I left home with a guitar under my arm. . . . I was appearing on a show on radio with Cliffie Stone when he suggested that I make an album of songs from my native Kentucky. Most of the traditional folk songs had been recorded, so I set about composing songs for the album that spoke of the mines and miners. The album was called "Folk Songs of the Hills."

A few years ago I met a young and talented man from Bristol, Tenn. He was just starting out in show business and was one of the finest singers I'd ever heard. His name was Ernie Ford. . . .

About a month ago he recorded one of my songs from my album titled "Sixteen Tons." It made history. It sold a million records in a shorter time than any other record in musical history.

A FEW DAYS AGO Cliffie Stone, Ernie and I had an interview for a writeup in one of the nation's top news magazines. The three of us wondered just what it was, other than Tennessee Ernie's great version of the song, that would make the hundreds of thousands of people in every part of the nation sit up and take notice of a man who "owes his soul to the company store. . . ."

We tossed it about for quite a while. Cliffie thought that perhaps it was because most everybody owed most of their money to some sort of "company store," but I don't think we ever really found an answer that is logical. We're just thankful that the song is so successful. . . .